778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their 342 offspring. The habitations include a hut, 343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus [417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. 343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom 417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[CP 205-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Oxchuc

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TABLE 3—DOMESTIC COMPOSITION

	Number	Percentage
Nuclear Families:		
Man, wife, no children	4	8.2
Man, wife, children	19	38.8
Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
Man, 2 wives, children	5	10.2
Widow, children	2	4.1
Man, wife, children not own	2	4.1
	33	67.4
592 Extended Families:		
596 Man, wife, married son and wife	6	12.2
Man, wife, married daughter	2	4.1
Widow, married son	6	12.2
Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

[P 216-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

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The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

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The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

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Family Groups

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.

[P. 216-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor input, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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